

(for use in Great Britain, France, Italy, West Germany, and Austria)

1. Door-opener - e.g. What do you think is the most important problem facing (survey country) today? _____

2. Please use this card to tell me your feelings about various countries.
(SHOW CARD) How about ... ?
U.S.: ☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Bad ☐ Very bad ☐ Don't know
Russia: ☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Bad ☐ Very bad ☐ Don't know
Great Britain: ☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Bad ☐ Very bad ☐ Don't know
France: ☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Bad ☐ Very bad ☐ Don't know
West Germany: ☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Bad ☐ Very bad ☐ Don't know
3. Leaving aside your favorable impressions, what impresses you most unfavorably about the United States? _____

4. And what impresses you most unfavorably about Soviet Russia? _____

5. Do you believe that there will or will not be a world war in the next three or four years?

Will be a war
Will not
Qualified answer
Don't know
6. Do you think that the danger of a war starting in Europe has become greater in the last few months, or less, or remained about the same?

Greater
Less
About the same
Don't know
7. Is America doing all it should do to prevent a new world war?

Yes, America is
No, America is not
Don't know

8. Is Russia doing all it should^{do}/to prevent a new world war?

Yes, Russia is
No, Russia is not
Don't know

9. In the present conflict between Russia and the U.S., which country do you think is more to blame - Russia or the United States?

Russia
United States
Both
Don't know

10. At the present time, do you personally think that (survey country) should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East, or on neither side?

West
East
Neither side
Don't know

11. And if it should come to a war between Russia and the U.S., do you think this country should take a side or not take a side? Which side?

Side with Russia
Side with U.S.
Not take side
Don't know

- 11a. Unless "Not take a side":
If you were sure that atom and hydrogen bombs were going to be used in such a war, do you think this country should take a side or not take a side? Which side?

Side with Russia
Side with U.S.
Not take side
Don't know

12. If a new world war broke out - which naturally nobody desires - do you think atom and hydrogen bombs would be used or don't you think so?

Would be used
Would not be used
Don't know

13. Is it your impression that Russia has become more conciliatory in the past few months, that it has become less conciliatory, or that it has remained about the same?

More conciliatory
Less conciliatory
About the same
Don't know

- 13a. If "More conciliatory":
Some people say that the main reason Russia has become more conciliatory is that the West has grown stronger. Do you agree or do you think it is mainly due to other reasons?

Agree
Other reasons
Don't know

14. Is it your impression that the U.S. is trying to ban atomic weapons or don't you have this impression?

Trying to ban
Don't have this impression
Don't know

15. Is it your impression that the U.S.S.R. is trying to ban atomic weapons or don't you have this impression?

Trying to ban
Don't have this impression
Don't know

16. In your opinion, are the Western forces at the present time stronger in atomic weapons than is the U.S.S.R., weaker, or about equal?

West stronger
West weaker
About equal
Don't know

17. Leaving aside atomic weapons, are the Western forces at the present time stronger in ordinary non-atomic military power than the U.S.S.R. and the other Communist forces, weaker, or about equal?

West stronger
West weaker
About equal
Don't know

18. Assuming that banning atomic weapons would leave the Western military forces weaker than the Communist forces, would you then be for such a ban or against it?

For ban
Against if West left weaker
Don't know

19. Do you think that American military bases in Europe do more to decrease or to increase the danger of war?

Decrease danger
Increase danger
Don't know

- or not
20. Do you happen to know whether/a major international conference on cold-war issues is planned for the near future?

Yes
No
Don't know

- 20a. IF "Yes":
Could you tell me what countries are meeting?

U.S.
U.S.S.R.
Great Britain
France
Other answers
Don't know

21. (As you know), there will be a conference at which the heads of state of the Big Four nations will be getting together (at _____) to discuss international issues. What do you hope most will come out of this Four-Power conference?

22. Apart from whether the conference might succeed or fail in general, what is your greatest worry about what might happen there?

23. In the forthcoming Four-Power conference, what are the chances, in your opinion, of achieving beneficial results? (SHOW CARD)

Very good
Good
Only fair
Poor
Very poor
Don't know

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24. We are interested in how much confidence you have in the various countries that will take part in the conference. (SHOW CARD) Please use this card to indicate how much you can count on each of these countries to abide by any agreements made at the conference. First, how about the U.S.?

U.S.	<input type="checkbox"/> Completely	<input type="checkbox"/> Very greatly	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/> Not very much	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> DK
U.S.S.R.	<input type="checkbox"/> Completely	<input type="checkbox"/> Very greatly	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/> Not very much	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> DK
Britain	<input type="checkbox"/> Completely	<input type="checkbox"/> Very greatly	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/> Not very much	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> DK
France	<input type="checkbox"/> Completely	<input type="checkbox"/> Very greatly	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/> Not very much	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> DK

25. Now, how much can you count on each to work sincerely for peace at the conference? (CARD)

U.S.	<input type="checkbox"/> Completely	<input type="checkbox"/> Very greatly	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/> Not very much	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> DK
U.S.S.R.	<input type="checkbox"/> Completely	<input type="checkbox"/> Very greatly	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/> Not very much	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> DK
Britain	<input type="checkbox"/> Completely	<input type="checkbox"/> Very greatly	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/> Not very much	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> DK
France	<input type="checkbox"/> Completely	<input type="checkbox"/> Very greatly	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/> Not very much	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> DK

26. And last, how much can you count on each of these countries to give fair weight to the interests of (people of survey country) at the conference? (CARD)

U.S.	<input type="checkbox"/> Completely	<input type="checkbox"/> Very greatly	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/> Not very much	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> DK
U.S.S.R.	<input type="checkbox"/> Completely	<input type="checkbox"/> Very greatly	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/> Not very much	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> DK
Britain	<input type="checkbox"/> Completely	<input type="checkbox"/> Very greatly	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/> Not very much	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> DK
France	<input type="checkbox"/> Completely	<input type="checkbox"/> Very greatly	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat	<input type="checkbox"/> Not very much	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> DK

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27. Now, we'd like to know how much confidence you have in some of the individuals who will be taking part in the conference. From this card, please tell me how much you feel you can count on each of these people at the meeting. (SHOW CARD) How about ...?

British Prime
Minister Sir

Anthony Eden ☐ Completely ☐ Very greatly ☐ Somewhat ☐ Not very much ☐ Not at all ☐ DK

Pres. Eisen-
hower of the
United States

☐ Completely ☐ Very greatly ☐ Somewhat ☐ Not very much ☐ Not at all ☐ DK

Premier Faure
of France

☐ Completely ☐ Very greatly ☐ Somewhat ☐ Not very much ☐ Not at all ☐ DK

U.S. Sec'y
of State
John Foster
Dulles

☐ Completely ☐ Very greatly ☐ Somewhat ☐ Not very much ☐ Not at all ☐ DK

Soviet For'n
Minister

Molotov ☐ Completely ☐ Very greatly ☐ Somewhat ☐ Not very much ☐ Not at all ☐ DK

Soviet Prem-
ier Bulganin

☐ Completely ☐ Very greatly ☐ Somewhat ☐ Not very much ☐ Not at all ☐ DK

28. Now, considering these four countries again, will you indicate for each what you consider to be the greater danger - that it will make too many concessions at the conference or too few?

U.S. ☐ Too many concessions ☐ Too few ☐ Don't know
U.S.S.R. ☐ Too many concessions ☐ Too few ☐ Don't know
Britain ☐ Too many concessions ☐ Too few ☐ Don't know
France ☐ Too many concessions ☐ Too few ☐ Don't know

LATE INSERTION

You may have heard of the recent agreement between Russia and the Western Powers about Austria. Do you happen to know if, under the terms of this agreement, Austria is now allied with the West, allied with the East, or is a neutral, independent state?

Allied with West
Allied with East
Neutral independent state
Don't know

IF "Neutral independent state":

Would you favor or oppose a similar agreement for Germany?

Favor
Oppose
Qualified answer
Don't know

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29. If it appeared necessary to make major compromises with some of your moral principles in order to reduce cold-war tensions, would you want the Western Powers to do this or not?

Compromise
 Don't compromise
 Qualified answer
 Don't know

30. Of course, almost everyone wants peace. But here are some things that some people say are worth fighting for, if that seems the only way to preserve them. Suppose, for example, that (survey country's) national independence were threatened by external military aggression. Which do you think (people of survey country) should choose - to stay at peace, or fight for national independence? (FOR EACH ITEM) What about a threat to? Which should (people of survey country) choose - stay at peace or fight for it?

National independence of (survey country) ☐ Stay at peace ☐ Fight for it ☐ Don't know

The independence of other countries in Western Europe ☐ Stay at peace ☐ Fight for it ☐ Don't know

Individual liberty of (people of survey country) ☐ Stay at peace ☐ Fight for it ☐ Don't know

Human dignity and respect for the individual ☐ Stay at peace ☐ Fight for it ☐ Don't know

Right of people to take part in decisions affecting their national destiny ☐ Stay at peace ☐ Fight for it ☐ Don't know

Freedom of religion ☐ Stay at peace ☐ Fight for it ☐ Don't know

Democratic way of life ☐ Stay at peace ☐ Fight for it ☐ Don't know

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31. Here are some things that might come up at the conference. Please use this card to indicate in each case first, whether you would favor this or oppose it, and second, what you think the chances are of an agreement on it at the conference? (SHOW CARD)

a. Prohibition of atomic weapons:

☐ Strongly favor ☐ Favor ☐ Don't care ☐ Oppose ☐ Strongly oppose ☐ DK
☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Only fair ☐ Poor ☐ Very poor ☐ Don't know

b. Limitation of other armaments:

☐ Strongly favor ☐ Favor ☐ Don't care ☐ Oppose ☐ Strongly oppose ☐ DK
☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Only fair ☐ Poor ☐ Very poor ☐ Don't know

c. Reunification of East and West Germany:

☐ Strongly favor ☐ Favor ☐ Don't care ☐ Oppose ☐ Strongly oppose ☐ DK
☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Only fair ☐ Poor ☐ Very poor ☐ Don't know

d. Return to Germany of its former eastern territories east of the Oder-Neisse now held by Poland:

☐ Strongly favor ☐ Favor ☐ Don't care ☐ Oppose ☐ Strongly oppose ☐ DK
☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Only fair ☐ Poor ☐ Very poor ☐ Don't know

e. Rearmament of West Germany:

☐ Strongly favor ☐ Favor ☐ Don't care ☐ Oppose ☐ Strongly oppose ☐ DK
☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Only fair ☐ Poor ☐ Very poor ☐ Don't know

f. Increase in East-West trade:

☐ Strongly favor ☐ Favor ☐ Don't care ☐ Oppose ☐ Strongly oppose ☐ DK
☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Only fair ☐ Poor ☐ Very poor ☐ Don't know

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31. Here are some things that might come up at the conference. Please use this card to indicate in each case first, whether you would favor this or oppose it, and second, what you think the chances are of an agreement on it at the conference? (SHOW CARD) (continued)

g. Scrapping of NATO - that is, the present Atlantic Pact defense system:

☐ Strongly favor ☐ Favor ☐ Don't care ☐ Oppose ☐ Strongly oppose ☐ DK

☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Only fair ☐ Poor ☐ Very poor ☐ Don't know

h. A conference on Far Eastern issues with Communist China included:

☐ Strongly favor ☐ Favor ☐ Don't care ☐ Oppose ☐ Strongly oppose ☐ DK

☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Only fair ☐ Poor ☐ Very poor ☐ Don't know

i. Admission of Communist China to the UN:

☐ Strongly favor ☐ Favor ☐ Don't care ☐ Oppose ☐ Strongly oppose ☐ DK

☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Only fair ☐ Poor ☐ Very poor ☐ Don't know

j. Giving Formosa over to Communist China:

☐ Strongly favor ☐ Favor ☐ Don't care ☐ Oppose ☐ Strongly oppose ☐ DK

☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Only fair ☐ Poor ☐ Very poor ☐ Don't know

k. Withdrawal of Russian troops from all non-Russian territories in Eastern Europe:

☐ Strongly favor ☐ Favor ☐ Don't care ☐ Oppose ☐ Strongly oppose ☐ DK

☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Only fair ☐ Poor ☐ Very poor ☐ Don't know

l. Withdrawal of U.S. troops from the continent of Europe:

☐ Strongly favor ☐ Favor ☐ Don't care ☐ Oppose ☐ Strongly oppose ☐ DK

☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Only fair ☐ Poor ☐ Very poor ☐ Don't know

32. Suppose the Russians proposed that Germany be reunited, with free elections, but could not enter alliances with either the West or the East: Which would you prefer - this suggestion or present plans to incorporate West Germany into Western defense?

Prefer Russian suggestion
Prefer present Western plans
Don't know

- 32a. IF "Prefer Russian suggestion":
Would you still prefer such a neutral Germany if the U.S., in that case, was not willing to guarantee to defend Germany if its neutrality were violated?

Would still prefer
Would not prefer in that case
Don't know

33. Suppose no agreement could be reached on reuniting Germany, and the Russians proposed neutralizing East and West Germany along the following lines: (SHOW CARD)

1. Neither East nor West Germany could be allied with the East or the West;
2. Both East and West Germany would be limited in their armament;
3. Both Allied and Soviet troops would withdraw from German soil.

Would you want the Western Powers to accept this proposal or would you prefer the present Western defense arrangements?

Neutralization of Germany
Present arrangements
Don't know

33a. If "Neutralization":

Would you still favor this proposal if it meant that without German bases the U. S. would feel it necessary to withdraw all its ground forces from Europe?

Would still favor
Would not favor in that case
Don't know

34. Suppose it were proposed that to end the cold war a "neutral belt" be created down the middle of Europe, including not only Germany, Sweden, and Austria, but also some countries now part of the Western Defense alliance, such as Norway and Denmark. These neutral states could not ally themselves either with the West or the East. Would you want the West to accept such a neutral belt or do you prefer the present arrangements for Western defense?

Neutral belt
Present arrangements
Don't know

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35. Suppose the Russians suggested the following:

1. That both the U.S. and Britain withdraw all their
forces from the Continent and give up their bases;
2. That Soviet Russia withdraw/to within the borders
its forces
of the U.S.S.R.

Would you want the West to accept this proposal or do you prefer
the present arrangements for Western defense?

Withdrawal of forces
Present arrangements
Don't know

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36. Are the countries of Eastern Europe - such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland - free at the present time in your opinion, or are they under Soviet domination?

Free
Under Soviet domination
Don't know

- 36a. IF "Under Soviet domination":

Would you accept or reject a peaceful settlement with the U.S.S.R. that required the West to give up permanently the right to assist the people of these countries to free themselves from Soviet domination?

Accept
Reject
Qualified answer
Don't know

37. Is it your impression that the Communist party of (survey country) takes orders from Moscow, or don't you think so?

Yes
No
Qualified answer
Don't know

- 37a. IF "Yes" or "Qualified answer":

Do you think that these orders from Moscow sometimes call for actions, on the part of the Communists of (survey country), which are disloyal to the country?

Yes
No
Qualified answer
Don't know

- 37b. IF "Yes" or "Qualified answer":

Do you think the West should insist at the conference that Russia stop such activities as part of any settlement, or don't you think so?

Should insist on this
Should not insist on this
Don't know

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38. Now, turning to the Far East for two final questions - if Communist China should attack Formosa, do you think America should oppose the attack by force of arms or don't you think so?

Should oppose by force
Should not oppose by force
Qualified answer
Don't know

39. In connection with Formosa, you perhaps have heard in the news about Quemoy and Matsu - two small islands very close to Communist China that are still held by the Nationalist Chinese.

If Communist China should attack these islands, do you think America should oppose the attack by force of arms, or don't you think so?

Should oppose by force
Should not oppose by force
Qualified answer
Don't know